

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L ANKARA 1844

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, TU
SUBJECT: CONVERSATION WITH ELEKDAG

REF: STATE 053008

1. I MET WITH MFA SEC GEN ELEKDAG MORNING MARCH 11 TO REVIEW CONVERSATION BETWEEN COUNSELOR-DESIGNATE NIMETZ AND TURKISH AMBASSADOR ESENBEL REPORTED REFTEL. DURING THE MEETING, I WENT OVER THE CONVERSATION IN DETAIL IN ORDER TO MAKE SURE THAT NO MISUNDERSTANDING EXISTED BETWEEN ANKARA AND WASHINGTON ABOUT WHAT NIMETZ HAD TOLD ESENBEL. ELEKDAG SAID THAT HE HAD RECEIVED ESENBEL'S REPORT OF THE CONVERSATION EVENING OF MARCH 10 AND THAT HE HAD NOT YET HAD AN OPPORTUNITY TO SHOW IT TO EITHER FONMIN CAGLAYANGIL OR PRIMIN DEMIREL. (IMMEDIATELY AFTER OUR MEETING HE WENT TO AIRPORT TO SEE CAGLAYANGIL OFF ON VISIT TO TEHRAN. HE SAID HE WOULD SHOW HIM THE TELEGRAM AT THAT TIME.)

2. AFTER MY PRESENTATION ELEKDAG MADE SEVERAL COMMENTS:
A. FIRST, HE NOTED THAT USG HAS THE IMPRESSION THAT MAKARIOS WILL
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PRESENT A TERRITORIAL PROPOSAL IN THE FORM OF A BIZONAL MAP. HE THEN READ TO ME FROM A TELEGRAM HE HAD RECEIVED FROM TURKISH EMBASSY IN NICOSIA QUOTING GREEK-CYPRIO NEGOTIATOR PAPADOPOULOS AS HAVING STATED PUBLICLY IN LARNACA ON MARCH 8 THAT "PARTITION OR DIVISION UNDER ANY NAME WOULD BE A DISASTER FOR THE GREEK-CYPRIO" AND THAT THE TALKS IN VIENNA WILL BE A TOUCHSTONE OF THE GOOD FAITH OF THE NEGOTIATORS AND WILL SHOW IF

"THE TURKS WILL HAVE BEEN PERSUADED TO PRESENT A TERRITORIAL MAP". ELEKDAG SAID THAT PAPADOPOULOS' STATEMENT SUGGESTED GREEK-CYPRIOTS ARE TRYING TO PLACE THE BURDEN ON TURKISH-CYPRIOTS FOR PRESENTATION OF A TERRITORIAL PROPOSAL CONTRARY TO WHAT HAD BEEN AGREED BETWEEN CLIFFORD AND MAKARIOS. I RESPONDED BY REAFFIRMING THAT NIMETZ HAD TOLD ESENBEL THAT USG HAD IMPRESSION GREEK-CYPRIOT TERRITORIAL PROPOSAL, WHICH MAKARIOS HAD COMMITTED THEM TO MAKE AT VIENNA, WOULD BE IN FORM OF A BIZONAL MAP.

B. SECOND, ELEKDAG SAID THAT HE WAS STRUCK BY THE FIGURE OF \$175 MILLION FOR FMS CREDITS FOR FY 78. HE ASKED IF ADMINISTRATION'S DECISION TO SEEK THE \$175 MILLION MEANT THAT IT DID NOT EXPECT THE DCA TO BE RATIFIED IN 1977. I ANSWERED BY SAYING THAT THAT IS NOT THE CASE. I STRESSED THAT THE FACT THAT PRESIDENT CARTER HAS DECIDED TO ENDORSE THE DEFENSE COOPERATION AGREEMENT (DCA) IS VERY ENCOURAGING FROM THE POINT OF U.S.-TURKISH RELATIONS. I ALSO POINTED OUT THAT THE ADMINISTRATION HAS DECIDED THAT IT WILL NOT PUSH FOR APPROVAL OF THE DCA AT THIS TIME, BUT HOPES TO DO SO WITHIN A MATTER OF MONTHS, BUT THAT THAT WILL DEPEND ON THE LEGISLATIVE SITUATION AT THE TIME AND OTHER MATTERS. (ELEKDAG INTERRUPTED HERE TO ASK IF "A MATTER OF MONTHS" MEANT "A FEW MONTHS". I SAID I HOPED IT DID, BUT AGAIN POINTED OUT THAT NO SPECIFIC COMMITMENT HAD BEEN UNDERTAKEN WITH RESPECT TO TIMING OF CONGRESSIONAL ACTION ON DCA.) THE DECISION TO ASK FOR \$175 MILLION IN FMS CREDITS FOR FY 78 PROBABLY MEANS THAT THE ADMINISTRATION HAS DECIDED THAT BECAUSE GRANT ASSISTANCE IS HIGHLY UNPOPULAR IN CONGRESS IT WILL NOT BE ABLE TO GET THE 75 MILLION GRANT ASSISTANCE ENVISAGED UNDER THE DCA UNTIL THE DCA IS PASSED, BUT THAT REGARDLESS OF THIS THERE WAS A RECOGNITION OF THE NEED TO GO FORWARD WITH THE CONFIDENTIAL

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\$175 MILLION IN FMS CREDITS. I ALSO POINTED OUT THAT ONE VERY IMPORTANT ASPECT OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S DECISION WAS TO SEEK TO LIFT THE RESTRICTION ON FMS CASH SALES.

C. THIRD, ELEKDAG SAID THAT HE FOUND IT VERY DIFFICULT TO AGREE WITH USG EVALUATION, (AS REPORTED BY NIMETZ) THAT THE GOG IS SUPPORTING EFFORTS TO RESOLVE THE CYPRUS PROBLEM. HE SAID GOT HAD NO SUCH EVIDENCE AND, IN FACT, GOG ACTIONS INDICATE THAT THE GREEKS WANT THE CYPRUS PROBLEM TO REMAIN AN OPEN SORE IN ORDER TO CONTINUE POISONING THE U.S.-TURKISH RELATIONSHIP. HE CITED AS EVIDENCE PRIMIN CARAMANLIS' CONVERSATION WITH SECRETARY CLIFFORD IN WHICH HE "DELIBERATELY MAGNIFIED THE TURKISH THREAT". WITH SOME EMOTION, ELEKDAG SAID THAT HE BELIEVES THAT GOG CONSIDERS THE TURKISH-U.S. DCA TO BE A GREAT THREAT TO GREEK POLICIES AND THAT THEY ARE THEREFORE WILLING TO DO ANYTHING TO OBSTRUCT CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL OF THE DCA. THIS, HE SAID, EXPLAINS WHY GOG IS DRAGGING ITS FEET ON NEGOTIATING THE GREEK-U.S. DCA. "ONE MUST BE VERY NAIVE NOT TO SEE THIS," HE SAID. I RESPONDED BY POINTING OUT THAT IF USG BELIEVED EVERYTHING SUSPICIOUS AND NEGATIVE THAT OUR GREEK AND TURKISH FRIENDS SAID ABOUT THE OTHER,

WE WOULD BE ABLE TO DO NOTHING. I SAID I RECOGNIZED THAT THE TURKS FELT THEY HAD GROUNDS FOR CONCERN BUT I SUGGESTED THAT EVEN IT, FOR THE SAKE OF ARGUMENT, THEIR CONCERNS SHOULD BE JUSTIFIED, IT WAS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT THAT THE GOT AND THE TURKISH-CYPRIOIS MAKE A GOOD FAITH EFFORT AT THE VIENNA CONFERENCE. IF THOSE TALKS BROKE DOWN, I SAID, THE GOT MUST MAKE SURE THAT DENKTASH DOESN'T GIVE THE OTHER SIDE AN OPPORTUNITY TO PUT THE BLAME ON THE TURKS. ELEKDAG RESPONDED THAT BY REASONING IN THIS WAY, THE USG WAS AGREEING TO A LINKAGE BETWEEN CYPRUS AND THE U.S.-TURKISH RELATIONSHIP AND "WAS FALLING INTO A GREEK TRAP".

3. AT THIS POINT ELEKDAG LEFT FOR THE AIRPORT, BUT I REMAINED FOR A FEW MINUTES LONGER WHILE MFA DIRECTOR OF GREEK-CYPRUS AFFAIRS GUVENDIREN EXPANDED ON ELEKDAG'S CONCERN ABOUT THE GREEK ATTITUDE TOWARD THE VIENNA TALKS AND RECENT STATEMENTS BY PAPADOPOULOS. THIS CONVERSATION WILL BE REPORTED BY SEPARATE CONFIDENTIAL

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TELEGRAM. ALSO DURING CONVERSATION WITH ELEKDAG, I DISCUSSED THE STATUS OF THE APO AND THE PROPOSED REPATRIATION TREATY. THESE SUBJECTS WILL ALSO BE DISCUSSED IN SEPARATE TELEGRAMS.

4. COMMENT: SINCE GOT HAD RECEIVED REPORT OF NIMETZ-ESENBEL CONVERSATION ONLY THE EVENING BEFORE OUR MORNING MEETING AND SINCE IT HAD NOT YET BEEN SEEN BY THE FONMIN OR PRIMIN, ELEKDAG WAS CLEARLY NOT IN A POSITION TO PRESENT GOT REACTION TO ADMINISTRATION'S DECISION ON DCA. HE WAS IN FACT VISIBLY CAUTIOUS IN COMMENTING ON THE SUBJECT. FOR MY PART, DURING THE CONVERSATION I MADE A DETERMINED EFFORT TO PRESENT THE DECISION IN A POSITIVE LIGHT.
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